/21/

172 807 171 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but 193 171 sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ǐ but sip ngi. This is a notable difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

191 184 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

101
121
361

1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced
133 to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of
131 Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly
361 limited their agricultural development. However, the dense moun-
221 tain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

Central China AF14

M 353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames:
184 Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
55 above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
35 families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
778 stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
353 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
556 and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
251 side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
231 If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
M 251 Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M 213 the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M 241 cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
171 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
352 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
M 487 used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

C 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

/177 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
164 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

292 Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
[531] at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[714] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/88 cont./
292 festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The
[764] Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan,
regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua
[184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The
Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts.
When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days
they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western
[126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of
red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of
[292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for
dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear
hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt
in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 286 439 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 [184] 301 175 [178] The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is altogether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as recorded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/ was very different from that today.

2:Ling & Ruey-310 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 [181] [526] [534] [292] [782] [65] [186] [184]

Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example, the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especially the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back. Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing, responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamping their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao, and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held. Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, because they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct. Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

/202 cont./

t'iao ku /lit. "to harmonize drums"/. The section on the Hung Miao in Kuei-chou T'ung-chih states: "To sing and dance to the beatings of the drum is called t'iao ku." Thus it may be seen that the drum dance is common among the Hung Miao in both Hunan and Kweichow, but it has not yet been found among other tribes in the southwest. It is suspected that this dance may belong to the Hung Miao alone. The histories of ancient dynasties contain the names of dances of the tribes of the southwest. The "Nan Man Chuan /Section on the Southern Tribes/" in the Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han Dynasty/ refers to the pa-yü dance, (1) the "Hsi-nan Chü I

1. Hou Han Shu, Vol. 116, "Lieh Chuan /Biographies/," No. 76, "Nan Man Chuan," states: "They like to sing and dance. Emperor Kao Tsung saw them, and said, 'This is the song of Prince Wu when he subdued Chou.' He ordered his musicians to learn it. This is the pa-yü dance."

Chuan /Section on the Tribes of the Southwest/" in the Sung Shih /History of the Sung Dynasty/, has a reference to the shui-ch'ü /lit. "water tune"/ dance, (2) and there are references

2. Sung Shih, Vol. 496, "Lieh Chuan," No. 225, "Hsi-nan Chu I Chuan," states: "The first year of the Chih Tao reign period /995/, Lung Kuang-chin led the Tsang-k'o tribes of the southwest to come to bring tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsung asked them

M 175 /203/
● 184
*535

to perform a native dance.
One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
which sounded like gnats. After
a good while some tens of them,
turning side by side, danced.
They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

M [113]

1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya, Vol. I, sections on the T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the Pe Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was M 194 popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was *535 transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. C 535 Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in C historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that [175] the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng Aa-lo-kung Ta'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

[3 cont.] With such a large population[1] in Kweichow, there are apt to be many ethnic varieties of the Miao-I, whose names are generally given by the Chinese and tacitly acknowledged by the Miao-I themselves. Most of these tribes live in high mountains and deep valleys and are isolated one from the other with the result that there are notable differences in locations, languages and customs. Thus they are often classified according to the colors of their costumes and other characteristics.

For instance, there are, according to the colors of the clothes the Ch'ing [blue or green] Miao, the Hê [black] Miao, the Pê [white] Miao and the Hung [red] Miao. Those who are differentiated according to the areas they live in are known as the Kao-p'o [high slope] Miao, the P'ing-ti [level ground] Miao, the Yueh-pien [boundary] Miao, the Shan [mountain] Miao, the Pa [embankment] Miao, the Tung [east] Miao, the Hsi [west] Miao, and the Ch'ien [bamboo grove] Miao. Those distinguished by the names of places in which they live are the Shui-hsi Miao, the Chia-ch'ê Miao, the Kun-tang Miao, the Ch'ê-chai Miao, the Hung-chou Miao, the P'ing-fa Miao, the Ch'ing-chiang-he Miao, the Kê-meng-ku-yang Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Tzu-chiang Miao and the Hsi-chi Miao. Those distinguished by the flower designs of their clothes are the Hua [flower] Miao, the Ta-hua [big flower] Miao, the Hsiao-hua [small flower] Miao, and the Hua-i [flowery dress] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their skirts are the Chang-ch'ün [long skirt] Miao, the Ai-ch'ün [short skirt] Miao, and the T'uan-ch'ün [circular skirt] Miao. Those distinguished by their trades are the Ta-t'ieh [blacksmith] Miao and the Tz'u-ku [water-plant?] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their ornaments are the Ku-hsün Miao, the Chen-tou Miao, the Tieh-tung Miao, the Chien-ting Miao, the Hê-chüeh Miao, and so on, the list being [4] inexhaustible.

According to the Pai-Miao-t'u [One Hundred Miao Pictures], sold in the secondhand bookstores in Kweiyang, there are 124 different Miao groups in all strange and quaint manners. The first 82 groups belong to Kweichow and the rest to Yunnan. Among those 82 groups, nine are Ch'i-lao, six are Chung-chia, five are Lung-chia, and two are Lolo. The others being all different, I

[1] [i.e., about 4,000,000 in the author's estimation.--Analyst]

[4 cont.]

101 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classi-
184 fication the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

181 3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very
[147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in
[276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

12: Wu and Ch'en--38 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

[31 cont.]

000 other, then the many millions of Miao-I people can be made into a powerful new force to assume special responsibilities in the war of defense and national reconstruction.

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[77]

The Life of Women among the Sui-chia

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

MS 101 184 There is no doubt that Kweichow is the center of the Miao-I people. As to the exact number of these people estimates vary from 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 to as high as 5,000,000 or 6,000,000. The final figure probably has to await the outcome of a more accurate census in the future. Among these many million people the spoken languages, customs, styles of clothing, and cultures in general are markedly different. They themselves recognize these differences although they all belong to the same Miao ethnic group. Because of the differences in their costumes and locations the Chinese call them by different names. Currently, there are more than a hundred groups of them, such as the Hê Miao, the Ch'ing Miao the Pê Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Sheng Miao, the Kao-pu Miao, the Chung-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chen-chia, the Sui-chia, the Ch'i-tou and the Mu-lao. There is a central area in the distribution of each Miao group. From the point of view of anthropology and linguistics they may be classified in the same ethnic group, but judged by their living conditions they have marked differences. The following is a brief account of the life of women among the Sui-chia.

12: Wu and Ch'en--71 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[130]

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are
● 184 two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory. The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the
[177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese language and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, before the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the Sheng Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their relations with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unassimilated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan" [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao." This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the Miao ..... those who live near the fu [prefecture] and hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly outnumber the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the
101 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
184 few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The write. has visited altogether
361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

/32 cont./

[illegible].

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and [582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child [428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qualified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but [851] are received into the family community with the same ceremony as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights for this child from its former family.

597 ●184 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this, [595] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named, must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these statements.

/98 cont./

584 marriage./99/ proposal is accepted, the young man and his family go to the bride. There a celebration lasts all day and all night. Then they all go with the bride to the village of the young man."

When the villages are small and far apart, as they are particularly in the case of the Meau settlements in northern Thailand, which makes it difficult for the young man to find [648] a bride himself, one turns to a Chinese trader, and he serves as go-between, for which he is paid a special remuneration (see the present chapter, the section "Dissolution of Marriage," and the chapter, "Trade").

572 584 608 Moreover, child betrothals are also customary. It happens, especially among blood brothers or friends, that they decide to strengthen these bonds still more through a marriage of the children. This decision is often made when the children are still small, often soon after their birth. For confirmation, the father of the little groom sends a silver ring of the value of one silver piece to the father of the little girl. This child betrothal, however, does not force the young people to marry for the principle holds good that no one can be forced into marriage and the young people themselves should come to an agreement on this question. If later, for instance, one of the 572 584 608 614 686 partners of such an early betrothal refuses to honor the marriage promise given by the father, the latter arranges for a plenary assembly of the sib members, at which women as well as men participate. He presents the case, and the sib almost always decides to release the young people from the promise of their fathers. But even if the opposite decision were reached, the betrothed can still insist on their refusal. If it is the groom who refuses, no indemnity has to be paid; if the girl refuses, however, three pieces of silver have to be paid to the rejected bridegroom. One can designate such child betrothals as rare 184 584 among the Meau of Thailand, whereas Savina (1) reports from

1. II, p. 226.

Indochina that they are common there.

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nă thǭ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nă yǭ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[264] [782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings 585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.
'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/101 cont./

184 584 Lajonquière (2) writes: "The wedding ceremonies seem to differ

2. II, p. 315.

somewhat in the details, but, taken as a whole, they are limited to the following: If a young man has his eye on a young girl, he informs his parents. His father selects two venerable men from his family to take gifts to the house of the girl. Among some Meau, these gifts consist of a small pig and alcohol; among others they are simply incense candles, which the go-betweens, as soon as they have arrived at the door, stick in the ground and light. In both cases, the father of the girl steps outside the door and /102/ invites the emissaries to partake of food and drink. If he has the food served to them outside the house, it means that the proposal is rejected. If he asks them to step inside, the invitation itself means that it has been accepted and that the marriage formalities can be discussed immediately."

[574] [201] [114]

These statements were borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (1).

1. Page 165.

184 574 585 Lajonquière (2) then continues very explicitly: "A great

2. II, p. 316.

feast, or rather a series of feasts which last two days, is prepared. Two days of joy, during which all the friends and relatives, called together from afar, bring gifts to the bridegroom, which enable him to supplement the very substantial bridal gift which he has to give to the parents of his future wife. This bridal gift sometimes is made up of 100 silver piasters, 100 kilograms of whiskey, a pig weighing one hundred kilograms, chickens, and so forth.

[583]

"When the day finally arrives, the young man, accompanied by his friends (there must be at least six men and two women), offers his gifts. The procession is gay on its journey and is led by mouth-organ players. A festive meal awaits them in the bride's house.

/102 cont./

184 585 in the bride's house. This is the last night that the young woman will spend with her girl friends in her parents' home. The next day, the bride in festive garb, and, if the bridegroom belongs to a tribe different from hers, in the garb of his tribe, goes to the house of her father-in-law in the company of a large crowd of friends of both sexes. Behind her a friend carries a chest with her belongings. The procession, in all the colors of the rainbow and accompanied by the sound of instruments, sets out along the slopes while the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets shout greetings down from the rocks which line the route.

"The ceremony takes place in the house of the young man through the introduction of the bride to her parents-in-law [782] [769] and through the invocation of ancestors before the altar, if this custom is practiced in the region concerned, for in several regions it is completely absent, and furthermore principally through dances, singing, and entertainments, which, depending on the means of the bridegroom, may last one or several days."

114 591 585 /103/ Abadie (1) borrows this description almost verbatim,

1. Page 166.

but adds that the young married couple have the choice of either starting an independent household or staying in the house of the bridegroom's father. The other authors and I myself did not find that the young couple was allowed to make this decision.

184 585 [584] Dhuratsadorn (2) makes his description shorter: "The

2. Page 168.

father or the go-between must be the first to go forth and ask the bride's father for the hand of his daughter. All the preparations for the wedding are then made by the bride's parents. On the wedding day, the bride's father or the go-between leads

/103 cont./

184 585 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when appropriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the relatives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's [583] parents demand 'ngön sin sot,' the money which is required for the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals .... [426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 426 This extending of credit for the purchase price is confirmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II, p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by [114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 184 595 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
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3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. [533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

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M /104 cont./
184 mouth organ, last throughout the afternoon. The vendors of
584 alcohol and cakes do a thriving business while the young men and girls become more closely acquainted and lay the basis for a future union... During the days which follow this festival most of the official marriage proposals are made."

M 184 583 Lajonquière (4) describes a custom which is likewise un-

4. II, p. 315.

known among the Meau of Thailand: "The 'Notice von Quan-Ba' says that as soon as the marriage is arranged the young man serves for two years in the house of his future /105/ father-in-law and that the marriage is finally settled only at the end of this period, after both parties have had a chance to become acquainted with each other."

A 584 [301] Among the Akha there are two kinds of betrothal. The most common kind is the silent betrothal; the young people simply agree to marry. In this case the young man gives the girl one or several silver arm-rings, depending on his means, and the girl gives him a small gift in return. Such betrothals can also be broken off without much ado; the party breaking off the betrothal gives the gifts back to the other party, who, however, keeps the gifts given to him.

In the case of a public betrothal, however, the father of the bridegroom asks the bride's father for his daughter's hand. In general it is the young man who initiates this marriage offer, requesting his father to undertake the proposal. It also happens, however, that a father seeks to obtain the hand of a girl for his son without obtaining the consent of the son in advance. In each of the two cases the bride's father asks his daughter. If she accepts the proposal, the go-between, that is, the father of the young man, is given a bottle of alcohol. This means that the betrothal is concluded and cannot simply be dissolved without the agreement of the other party. If one party breaks

A [686] off the betrothal, the father of the other party has to be paid a large pig and 11 pieces of silver (ticals) as an indemnity from

/116 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
583 price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114] words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),
[184] however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife
commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her
consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He
says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she --
since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house --
would have to support herself. This could be done, however,
only under the greatest difficulties.

1. Page 167.

2. II.

3. Page 169.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is
possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the
deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular
assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be
condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while
the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's
laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childless-
ness. In all these cases, too, the bride-price is not repaid.

/205 cont./

782 796 [776] The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then [596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people 796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go 574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and 273 70), flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not

●[184] 1. II, p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten [273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night 526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth 796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1/1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The
[782 New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is de-
769 voured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it com-
526 munally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball
241] and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacri-
796 fices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field
[184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose
231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought.
776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/221 cont./

182 538 773 Especially among a people as mentally alert and of such high standing as the Meau, one can probably see in this fact an indication that we have here an economically-conditioned cultural loss. Poetry, like every free artistic activity, requires not only mental ability, but also security in the basic conditions of life. That the mental ability in any case is present among the Meau is attested to, in addition to the communications from Savina, by both the mental development of the children and, above all, the spiritual culture which both the Meau and the Akha have developed. People who need all their strength in order merely, with the hardest work, to avoid starvation, however, cannot possibly have the energy required for poetic invention. Traditional lore maintains itself longer, but it, too, disappears if there is not sufficient time and leisure to cultivate it.

773 [184] Nevertheless, among the Meau in Thailand I was able to record a number of legends which often are identical to a great extent with the corresponding myths and tales that other authors have recorded among the Meau in Tonkin. Accordingly, I am presenting the recorded material in the grouping most useful for comparative purposes. Concerning /222/ the origin of the human race, the following was reported to me:

In the beginning the earth was flooded by the ocean. When the water had gradually created its own pathways and earth became visible, a pair of siblings was living there. The brother impregnated the sister, and she gave birth to a gourd, which instead of seeds contained germ cells from which, in the course of time, human beings developed.

539 Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) also describe this episode,

1. II, p. 314.

2. Page 168

but these authors state that the Meau have knowledge of the Deluge and the siblings were the only survivors of this natural catastrophe. Savina (3) also described the creation of human beings:

3. II, p. 244.

39: Bernatzik--321 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 12

Law and the Administration of Justice

a) Property Law

423 Among the Meau uncultivated land formerly belonged to
[643] the king, later to the great chief, and today to the village chiefs.
[634] Cultivated land belongs to the person who has planted or in-
[622] herited it, that is to say, to the head of the large /extended/
[596] family in question. Conditions seem to be the same in Tonkin,
[184] since both Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2) confirm my observations.

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

2. Page 164.

The latter points out that among the Meau who live near irrigated rice fields or especially fertile soil the property rights over landed property are precisely established. The land belongs to the person
[428] who cultivates and manages it, and it is transferred by hereditary transmission.

423 The situation regarding landed property among the Meau in
622 Thailand is regulated in a very practical way. Every village
628 chief is free to take possession of uninhabited land, into which he moves. If another village is already present in the territory concerned, permission must be obtained from the village chief there, who, by his mere presence, originally took possession of the land. If there is enough cultivable land for all the parties, this permission is always granted in practice. No special fee or rent has to be paid.

423 Accordingly, the head of every large /extended/ family is
596 free to cultivate the untilled land lying in the vicinity of the
622 village, which, as such, belongs to the village chief, without the special permission of the latter.

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In case of malicious nonpayment, which in practice almost never occurs, the creditor turns to the village chief, who will make use of his powers. If even his efforts are unsuccessful, the creditor has the right to kill the debtor.

Limitation of debts is unknown, but repayment in installments is customary. If a Meau debtor lives in a village other than the one where the creditor lives or moves to a different village, a sort of promissory note is made out. It consists of a piece of wood into which a notch is cut for the value of each ten pieces of silver. Thereupon the stick is split lengthwise in such a way that the halved notches remain on each of the sides of the stick. The creditor keeps one half of the stick; the debtor takes the other half with him. This practical custom seems to be very widespread among the Meau and not limited to Thailand. In any case Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in similar fashion on the

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1. Page 172.

Meau in Tonkin.

If a creditor wants repayment from the debtor, he need not seek him out himself, but can ask someone else to demand the amount for him. He then gives the half of the stick to the messenger as identification. Upon presentation, the debtor is obliged to pay the messenger, identified by the half of the stick, the amount shown on the stick, beginning at the date agreed upon, provided that this half agrees with the one that remained with the debtor. On the other hand, if only partial payment is made, the old debt-stick is destroyed and a new one prepared showing the residual amount, and this is handled in the same way as the first. The messenger is then given a half of the stick to take back.

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The situation regarding property among the Akha differs considerably from that among the Meau. Uncultivated land belongs to no one; it is considered as unrestricted, as are hunting and fishing. Accordingly, the land may be taken into possession by any tribesman without further inquiry by merely beginning to clear and cultivate it. It is left entirely up to him to choose the land and the extent of the land. Since, however, land is usually

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428 596 [184] Among the Meau in Tonkin, somewhat different legal conceptions seem to prevail, for Lajonquière (1) writes: "Cash,

1. II, pp. 319 and 320.

furniture, produce, and animals are distributed only after the death of the last parent (mother or father), for among the Meau the mother remains the head of the family /245/ after the death of her husband, and she is the owner of all his possessions until her death."

Abadie (1), too, describes customs which are likewise different from those which I found: "When the mother dies, the possessions in movable goods (money, implements, animals, and harvested produce) are distributed among the male children. The oldest son or the son who remains in the parental house becomes head of the family and is given the paternal property, on which other children may also live in accordance with special arrangements."

Dhuraratsadorn (2) also reports explicitly: "Even if the

2. Page 169.

deceased has left behind many sons and daughters, only the eldest son, as the successor of the family, inherits."

Among the Meau in Thailand, as has been said, the family unit continues to exist after the death of the great chief under the new head, and, to be sure, as long as wives of the deceased are still living. It is only after the death of the last of these wives that the married sons under the age of thirty make themselves independent and build their own homes for themselves and their wives. Since, as was set forth in detail in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Dissolution of Marriage," [589] younger widows usually remarry, whereas the widows already old and their children remain in the house of the deceased, it may easily happen that, after the death of these widows, minor children, that is, unmarried sons and daughters, survive. The

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

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[322] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106), roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

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1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

[SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
• 184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only represent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and
[251] the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[1] [see cart 116, P706 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " P665 - " "]

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [531] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

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353 knives, wooden spoons, a grater, small baskets with spices and
352 fruits, vegetables and dried roots, a gourd dipper, a wooden
415 ladle for dipping, and the like. For storing porcelain dishes there are also special hanging baskets with tightly plaited sides and a loosely plaited cover (Fig. 131). Also, a low table for parking things on (Figs. 117 and 132) stands on the other side of the hearth, and next to it there is a bamboo container for the chopsticks (Fig. 133).

352 From the storage loft a large wooden hook hangs down,
353 which has to bear the weight of the heavy water kettle. Also, small hooks carved out of wood and some made of deer-horn, as well as branch-whorls (Figs. 134, 135, and 136), hang on the walls and are used to hang up various pots, baskets, and utensils (see also Fig. 117).

Whereas such devices for putting away and hanging up utensils and the aforementioned wall boards and shelves are
●[184] present in abundance, chests and cupboards are completely lacking among the Meau who have settled in Thailand.

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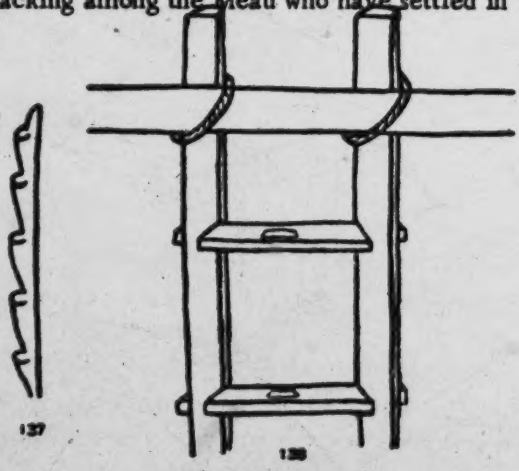

Figs. 137-138. Ladders of the Meau.
Fig. 137. Notched tree-trunk, about 1/20 nat. size.
Fig. 138. Ladder with steps, 1/6 nat. size.

/320 cont./

291 531 especially artistic. On the dark-blue background there are yellow squares, and in them red squares set on the points are sewed. Similarly, all the other red parts of the pattern, as well as the narrow, white and colored stripes, are strips of material sewed on. Pattern 3 of Colored Plate IV is also produced in the same manner; only it should also be mentioned here that four lines in white silk, crossing one another, are embroidered on the black squares of cloth that are sewed on.

[868] [294] This embroidery in stripes is extremely laborious work. As soon as the young girl has learned it from her mother, she starts on the embroidery of her future festive attire and often works on it for many years during all her free time. It must also be pointed out that the sailor collar is often worn reversed so that the beautiful embroidery is not visible. I noticed this among almost all the women of the Black Meau and trace it back to their thriftiness, which perhaps prompts them to protect the beautiful embroidery from the sun and rain.

184 291 531 The pleated skirt reaching only to the knees is very becoming to the women. It consists of a strip of material six meters long, which is closely pleated and, by means of a binding holding the pleats together, to which narrow bands are fastened, is tied open in front around the middle. The skirt of the Black or Flowery Meau has three different longitudinal stripes (Illus. 58 and 61). The upper one is plain blue, and the lower one is likewise dark blue, but with a strip of colorful cross-stitch embroidery sewed on (Colored Plate II, No. 5); the middle stripe is batik work (chapter, "Art," Figs. 8-13). The colorful strip of embroidery sewed on the rear edge of the skirt (Colored Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6) is provided according to the taste of the wearer, with the most varied /321/ cross-stitch patterns. One sees young girls embroidering on it whenever they have a minute of time (Ill. 87).

[294]

[See cat 116, pp 447 + 449 - ANALYST]
[" " " p 620 - "]

/321 cont./

291 The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but
●184 is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made
[101] of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue
531 apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit
482 the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and
531 Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not
[552] it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important
[292] piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/321 cont./

291 531 is wound a black and white checked turban-cloth, usually purchased. Then comes a similar, /322/ but usually larger-checked cloth, and then a fourth, which resembles the second one, and, finally, a black and white, small-checked band about 80 centimeters long is put crosswise over this whole structure of cloth and pinned fast. The turban tassel (Colored Plate II, No. 10) is then fastened over the forehead. It consists of a silver coin pierced four times, on which hang little chains of small, white and colored glass beads with red wool tassels at the end (Ill. 60). Instead of the checked crossband, a narrow, embroidered band is often placed over the turban. [301] White and Black Meau wear the same type of turban. One [184] very commonly, however, sees women and girls without a head covering, especially at work.

291 [184] Whereas Savina (1) remarks that the women wear leggings

1. II, p. 211.

only on trips, among the Meau visited by us the leggings represent a regularly worn and important article of clothing. The workday legging (Colored Plate II, No. 7) consists of a dark-blue strip of cloth 60 centimeters long, which is put around the leg and is tied below the knee and above the ankle. It is not tight on the leg. The leggings of the festive attire 292 (Colored Plate II, No. 8) consist of a white strip of cloth six to seven meters long, which is wound around the leg from the bottom upward in narrow spirals and is tied on top with a narrow black band (Ill. 58). Depending on the length of the strip used, these leggings are sometimes rather bulky. The clothing of the women on festive days thus is distinguished from the everyday clothing only by the richness of the embroidery, the size of the turban, and the wound leggings.

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats made of straw.

The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the 291 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's 184

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires, but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated, [177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1] [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p 448 - "]
[3] [" " " p 595 - "]
[4] [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand

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AKha A04
MiaoAE5

Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731]

After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184]

Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389]

"Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

39: Bernatzik--478 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/351 cont./

226 [114] [184] The statements in the literature about the fishing of the Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, however, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself." [262]

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer, when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream." [312] [241] [278]

226 278 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

39: Bernatzik--479 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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/352 cont./

ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools. It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60 centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing methods described, plays only a minor role, although the young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to poisonous water-snakes.

The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets, fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

/353 cont./

178 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the
243 use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion,
407 even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate
[178]

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, [361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

39: Bernatzik--483 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 243 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important [262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields
• [184]

1. II, p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize [251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

39: Bernatzik--487 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
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/359 cont./

244 On the average, these yam fields are productive equally as long as the rice fields.

5. Cucumbers. Two types of them are sowed at the same time as the rice. As a rule, the procedure is simply to mix the [243] rice seed with the cucumber seeds so that it is put in the little seed-holes with them. Cucumbers are important for the Meau because they can be harvested as early as two or at most three months after sowing, hence at a time when the Meau have the least amount of food on hand, since the old harvest has been used up by then, but the new products are not yet ripe. In accordance with their cultivation together with the rice, cucumbers are cultivated in one field only as long as it is productive for rice cultivation.

6. Radishes of only a single type are known and customarily [243] cultivated among the Meau. Radish seeds, too, are mixed with the rice and hence cultivated simultaneously with it. Usually [262] they are eaten raw by the workers in the fields.

7. Beans. Four kinds of beans are planted at the same time as the rice but in special fields. For this a small hole is punched with the digging stick, two seed beans are put into it, and the planting hole is closed by a step with the heel as one walks on. Bean fields, which remain productive for two years, receive no further care; bean poles are unknown.

243 8. Maize, which is the principal food crop of the Meau in [184] Tonkin, on which Lajonquière (1) reports, is in only eighth

1. II, p. 309.

place in northern Thailand. It is cultivated in three types [244] and in general together with gourds in special fields. At the end of April at the earliest and the beginning of June at the latest, small holes are punched with the digging stick at intervals of half a meter. In them, besides three or four kernels of maize, two or three gourd seeds are always slipped [244] in, and the hole is closed. For the earliest types of maize the harvest begins as early as three months after sowing, which makes maize just as important as the likewise early ripening

/360 cont./

243 14. Sorghum, negro corn, is of minor importance for Thailand, to be sure, but must be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Sowing and harvesting take place at the same time as that of maize, which corresponds with the observations made by Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ in Tonkin.

244 In general the customs of the Meau here and there seem to correspond with regard to agriculture. Lajonquière (2) [184] /see footnote 2 above/ also mentions a number of kinds and varieties of vegetables, such as beans, peas, gourds, broad [243] beans, cucumbers, and in addition a kind of grass, called [252] "caolien," out of which the Meau there bake cakes. These field products, classified by the author under the name of "secondary cultures," /361/ are planted, according to his description, between the furrows of the maize fields and ripen at the same time as the latter.

351 Vegetables, aside from the large-scale cultivation in the fields, are also cultivated in gardens for daily use by the 241 Meau in Thailand. Lajonquière (1) noticed special house- [244]

1. II, p. 310.

gardens in Indochina: "In the gardens, which they arrange around the houses, the Meau harvest radishes, eggplant, [249] beans, peas, and also tobacco in sufficient quantities for their personal needs."

[184] The Meau in Thailand, to be sure, do not plant eggplant, but in the vicinity of their houses they cultivate in particular [245] bananas and fruit trees, such as lemon, lime, and in rare cases orange trees. According to the statements of the author just cited (2) "the houses of the Meau in Indochina, on the

2. Page 309.

other hand, are surrounded by a circle of fruit trees which are not fenced off on the outside." The multiplicity of the [114] kinds of fruit there is clearly expressed in a description by

/361 cont./

351 Savina (3): "There are as yet no fruit trees, but that is still
241
245 3. II, p. 185.
114 to come, and, to be sure, next. In the next fruit season one goes to the neighboring villages, stuffs himself with pears, plums, apples, and apricots, 'remembers his mother, sister, and little ones,' and returns home with a full carrying-basket. The pits of these fruits are thrown into the thicket and germinate there. In a few years, fruit trees come up. This is the origin of the fruit trees that are seen around all Meau villages. Not a single one has been planted."

The author's statement that the fruit trees are not planted, but rather owe their existence to the pits haphazardly and thoughtlessly thrown away, cannot be upheld by anyone who -- as I did -- has seen how carefully the Meau select, plant, and tend their fruit trees.

248 I report on plants used in spinning and dyeing in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

412 The agricultural equipment of the Meau in Thailand will probably be best explained by the drawings. The small
243 crescent-shaped rice-knife (Fig. 268) is typical for the Meau. It is wound around the four fingers of the right hand by means of a string fastened to it, the stalk is seized with the thumb and the third finger, /362/ the cutting edge of the knife is pressed against the stalk with the ring finger and the little finger and cuts it (Ill. 95).[1] These knives vary in size, depending on whether they are intended for children or adults.
412 Other cutting instruments are: sickle (Fig. 271), chopping knife (Fig. 272), and the knife for harvesting poppies (chapter, "Stimulants," Fig. 289). Furthermore, the Meau have at their disposal the ax (Fig. 273), digging stick (Fig. 267), hoe (Figs. 269 and 270), weeding rake (Figs. 274 and 275). The
407 plow, on the other hand, as was described, is not in use among
● 184 the Meau in Thailand and has already fallen into oblivion, whereas it is still in use among the Meau in Tonkin, in accordance with its geographical feasibility. Abadie (1)

1. Page 310.
[1] [see cat 116, P 645 - ANALYST]

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/362 cont./

M 407 • 184 describes it as a "plow of simple construction with an iron shoe." So far as can be learned from the vague statements of the other authors, the other agricultural implements are identical with those of the Meau in Thailand.

A 241 243 The Akha in Thailand, like the Meau, practice hoe cultivation with fallow periods of eight to ten years, which the cultivation of rice for generally two years on the same field requires in their Thailand /Figs. 267-275 appear here/ /363/ area of settlement. Otherwise their agriculture is subject to the same climatic and geographical conditions as that of the A [407] Meau. They likewise do not use any plow; but, in contrast to the Meau, according to what is known up to now about the Akha, they did not know anything about it in former times. The terrace arrangement is also absent, so only the cultivation of mountain rice comes into consideration.

A 243 [787] When the Akha want to lay out a field and for this purpose look for a new site in the virgin forest, they, like the Meau, are bound by omens in making their decisions (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, A Interpretation of Omens"). If they are favorable, the head of [596] the large /extended/ family decides on a place that meets [782] his desires. Among the Akha, even before beginning the clearing of such a rice field, the offerings for the spirits begin. As we have already learned in the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits," offerings are made to the various spirits in solemn fashion on definite occasions. Besides the close connection of the Akha with the spirits, these festivities show the great significance of rice cultivation.

Clearing begins in the same way as among the Meau, except that the Akha let the cut wood dry until shortly before the rainy season and then usually burn only once.

The fields of the Akha are smaller throughout than those of the Meau; their surface area varies between one and five hectares and therefore only amounts to the total size of a M subdivision of a field clearing of the Meau. Whereas the [241] latter subsequently try to give their property the rounded-off appearance of a unit, the fields of the Akha are very irregular in shape.

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--497 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AES

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of
[342] maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand
[492] use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the
[178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 290.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

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/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[84] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the description by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

[415] [184] [177]

1. Page 161.

2. II, p. 303.

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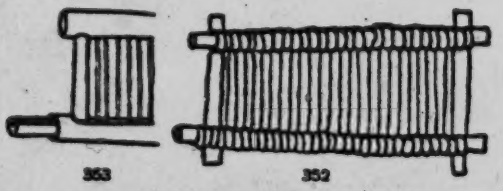
/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88) into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.



Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

[248] [283] [171] [184] "The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs. The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes

2. II, p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

1 [see col. 116, p 621 - ANALYST]
2 [" " p 622 - " "]

/404 cont./

286 [184] [171] spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] [171] [177] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 [294] The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed together by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by 249 386 Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The 386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 531 [413] Much more art and skill is required to provide the material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

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M 492 [493] [184]

/422 cont./

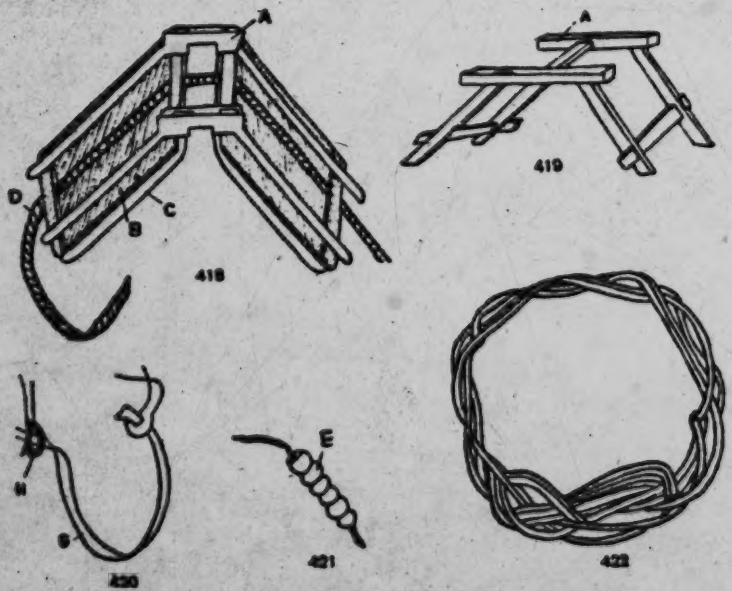
On the other hand, carts, sedan chairs, and hammocks are unknown. Occasionally cattle are also used as riding animals, but these animals play a subordinate role. The conditions in Indochina are similar, according to a description by Abadie (1).

1. Page 160.

A 492 482

Among the Akha, the use of domestic animals as pack animals is even less frequent than among the Meau. Goods are transported almost exclusively by porters who use carrying baskets with shoulder boards and forehead straps (see the chapter, "Handicrafts." Fig. 374).

M 492 [283]



Figs. 418-422. Packsaddle of the Meau.

Fig. 418. Packsaddle for cattle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 419. Wooden frame of the packsaddle, 1/20 nat. size. Fig. 420. Hide strap, 1/15 nat. size. Fig. 421. Tail strap, 1/16 nat. size. Fig. 422. Stirrup, 1/5 nat. size.

M [285]

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
439 Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
114 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and
[323] finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his observations with a desctiption [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

101
162 /453 cont./ Witek (7) tries to find distinguishing marks for the in-

7. Page 45.

dividual tribes /454/ of the Meau and mentions, for instance, the differences in the clothing of the White and Black Meau or refers to the skin color or the "barbarity" (in contrast to the "refinement") as distinguishing features. Moreover, he quotes Liétard, who for his part draws on social stratification for the differentiation. Other authors, too, have sought to determine the number of Meau tribes both generally and for their narrower area of study. Maurice Abadie (1), for instance, says that there

1. Page 150.

are more than 50 different Meau tribes, but in his smaller area of study, Tonkin, only five tribes. Lajonquière (2) states: "The

2. II, p. 301.

Meau are said to be divided into 70 tribes in their narrower homeland. In Tonkin, however, we can find only a far smaller number of tribes." The missionary, P. Proux, whom Schotter refers to as an authority, speaks of 30 different tribes in Kweichow, and a Chinese author, of 39.

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162
291 Scott (3), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion

3. II, p. 598.

●184 that there are three principal tribes of the Meau, which are called the Red, the White, and the Black Meau by the Chinese. The differences are said to lie in the clothing and in the language. This difference in language in turn is disputed by Savina (4), who divides the Meau into six large and four or five

4. II, p. 187.

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

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/455 cont./

M 101 162 291 184 [582] A 131 162 [167]

any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in